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ASP photo by Roseman

For her the future looks brighter
See story on school segregation decision below

WAR & PEACE

Big business presses for more spending on arms, sharpens danger of war

By Tabitha Petran

AMID predictions of "diplomatic disaster" for the West, Washington still sought some way to intervene militarily in Southeast Asia. In Geneva, Indo-China's Viet Minh government offered a peace plan termed "reasonable" and "intelligent" even by Western correspondents, but the U. S. delegation "floundered between the unacceptable and the unattainable." In Washington, policymakers "were haunted by the knowledge that the fate of Indo-China may be determined [by] . . . events beyond the control of the U.S." (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, 5/16).

The Administration was reported split into three groups: the "powerful interventionists" who demand war to "save" Indo-China; a group calling for "a diplomatic showdown" and, if that fails, war on China; and another which wants to follow the British lead, let France make what terms it can, then try by all means short of war to shore up what is left (N. Y. **Times**, 5/15).

3 STEPS TO WAR: The overall strategy of the interventionists and war advocates was charted by Washington correspondents as a three-step affair, based either on continuation of the war or U. S. dissociation from any armistice concluded at Geneva:

1. To force France to grant Indo-China "independence," thus substituting U. S. for French control, securing U. S. direction of the war and its right to train native troops. French Foreign Minister Bidault—who as self-appointed personal arbiter of French foreign policy again asked, after Dienbienphu's fall, under what terms the U. S. would enter the war—was reported ready to grant these demands. But his government, granted only a "stay of execution" by the recent 289-287 confidence vote in parliament, could hardly survive "internationalization" of the war.

2. To build a pact "with teeth in it," with the support of Asian and Western governments, either to "rescue" Indo-China now or—if that is lost—fight to hold the rest of Southeast Asia against social change. Burma, Indonesia, India and Ceylon have already turned this down. Britain strongly opposes any

Bidstrup in Land og Folk, Copenhagen

pact involving military commitments in Indo-China. London, however, "will not be given a veto" over U. S. intervention (**NYT**, 5/15).

3. To "educate the American Congress and public to the prospect of possible U. S. involvement in Southeast Asia" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 5/8) —an education which was being conducted by "the old one-two, one-two jabs of national political salesmanship . . . threaten to intervene . . . then deny it . . . threats . . . denials. . . ." (N. Y. **World-Telegram**, 5/8).

SIGNS OF DANGER: Washington faces formidable difficulties in imple-

(Continued on page 3)

THE JOB NOW IS TO ENFORCE THE DECISION

Jim-crow schools declared illegal

THE SOUTH's jimcrow schools were first outlawed by the Reconstruction governments under the Acts of March 2 and 23, 1867; re-established after Reconstruction's overthrow by the Hayes-Tilden 1876 compromise. In a Supreme Court decision historians called "momentous" and "a milestone in American history" they were outlawed again on May 17, 1954.

Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Court's only appointee by a Republican administration, read the two unanimous opinions neither of which affected private schools. The first applied to four cases involving the right of 21 states to segregate Negro from white public-school children, thus depriving the Negroes of "the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th Amendment." In the 17 Southern states the jimcrow statutes have been mandatory, in the other four (N. Mex., Ariz., Kansas, Wyoming) permissive.

The second opinion involved the Dist. of Columbia, where schools have been jimcrow since the Civil War under Congressional sanction. It said that in view of the decision prohibiting such schools in the states, "it would be unthinkable that the same Constitution would impose a lesser duty on the federal government."

Now we hope it's perfectly clear

He [Undersecy. of State Walter Bedell Smith] said the U. S. supported the Indo-Chinese states "to enable them to resist open and covert invasion from within their borders" and will continue to do so.

—UP dispatch from Geneva, May 10.

. . . It can also be reported on excellent authority that a "new look" in U. S. foreign policy is being contemplated. . . . Such a decision, not to "go it alone" but to "go it" with allies who are not European powers—without their concurrence if necessary — would veer sharply. . . .

—Washington dispatch to Los Angeles **Times**, May 9.

NEXT WEEK

The GUARDIAN next week will have a full story on the school segregation decision, including comments from the Negro press, and surveying the decision's effects.

RECONCILIATION: In a 10-page section devoted to various aspects of the decision in next day's N. Y. **Times**, Harvard's Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger Sr. noted that "the Supreme Court has finally reconciled the Constitution with the preamble of the Declaration of Independence." He echoed the sentiment of many others that it would "have a good effect with the rest of the world where one always runs into racial charges" (Dr. Avery Craven, U. of Chicago).

The fight before the High Court was won by the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People led by special counsel Thurgood Marshall who, when

asked how long he thought it would take to implement the decision throughout the South, said "up to five years." The Court recognized the inevitable time-lag by setting October as a starting date for argument on implementation decrees. States involved were invited to send their Attorneys General to present arguments at that time. Most of them were expected to come. Deep South states indicated they would fight and stall as long as possible.

In Georgia, which with S. Carolina has said it would close its public schools rather than halt segregation, Gov. Herman Talmadge "hinted at the use of troops if necessary" to keep the decision from being enforced (N. Y. **World-Telegram**, 5/18). Georgia Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook said he

". . . had contacted 17 attorneys general in affected states and had found none willing to submit to the decision without further litigation."

IT "SQUARES": There was "no dancing in the streets" by Dist. of Columbia Negroes over the decision, **NYT** reported; a Negro cab-driver explained that "when you have to wait like this there is a possibility of the people doubting." The paper reported AFL pres. George Meany as saying in Chicago the decision "squares with the AFL policy of non-discrimination throughout its entire history." In Washington, where Negroes are trying to get jobs with the Capital Transit Co., the same paper reported that the CTC employes' bargaining agent, the Intl. Assn. of Machinists (AFL),

". . . is so opposed to hiring Negroes for platform posts that it has threatened a strike."

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This is the season to renew

If your address-plate on p. 1 (reverse of this box) reads May, 1954 (5-54) or earlier, your sub is in arrears and is due for renewal NOW.

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THE MAIL BAG

So deep as a well

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Mrs. Andrew Winton Roth
Harrison, New Jersey
Dear Mrs. Roth:

I noted an AP dispatch quoted in the Milwaukee **Journal** that you have started a post card campaign to confine Joe McCarthy's activities in the Senate to matters that "deal solely with the internal affairs of the State of Wisconsin."

We in Wisconsin are dismayed beyond belief. The vast majority of the people of our state will resist your effort with the revived fire of that old progressive Wisconsin tradition.

But were you to start a campaign to confine McCarthy's Senate activities to the internal affairs of the oil wells of Texas, you would have, I know, our boundless support. And the deeper the well, the better we'll like it.

M. Michael Essin

Point of order

CANTON, OHIO

I'd like to know just two things about McCarthy: (1) Who is his psychiatrist? (2) Who is the psychiatrist's psychiatrist? **Elmer Fish**

Water level and culture

BAKERSFIELD, CALIF.

Where I am, the entrance to the golden agricultural empire of California (the San Joaquin Valley), there is only gloom and pessimism. Cotton support prices keep the main agricultural commodity going, but the acreage allowed to grow the crop has gone down, and substitute crops do not offer any margin of profit (alfalfa hay has gone down; potato farmers are losing their shirt; the vegetable market is a gamble!

The water level has gone down (meaning more expensive power to get it up) for farmers who depend on irrigation. The control valley water system helps somewhat, but it is not enough to turn the tide. My prediction is this: So. California will be a desert area in the future. The test of a culture is its water level. When it goes down, and man does nothing to replenish the supply, the culture falls.

I believe that every man should have a farm. It should have a house on it, and be limited to 10 acres in size. But outside of that, the state should organize all systems of productive or useful work towards a cooperative enterprise; there can be no competition when you have mass production. If you accept the factory system, there must be socially owned means of production; and in the future it will be a general crime for a man to own any property outside of his immediate house and farm. **A. P.**

Three little words

AMHERST, COLO.

Taking many things into consideration, Sen. Johnson's (D-Colo.) three words—Asia for Asians—were the most important three words ever spoken. I would like to vote for him for the next President. **H. B. Sprague**

Mumps and doctors

WESTMONT, ILL.

Attached find the usual $1 for your wonderful paper. I have a little time on my hands due to mumps. These I contracted the usual way from a small fry when she had them 18 days ago. (I'm 51.) I wanted to prevent getting them and badgered two doctors for some way to prevent them. All I got from them were blank stares. Yet in their next breath they are telling me they will cure cancer, T.B., etc., if we listen to their begging pleas and give them lots of money. I asked when are you going to cure the common cold, which leads into all kinds of other sickness? Some more blank stares were the answer I got.

Anton Slezak

Dulles Dishwater

NEW YORK, N.Y.

There was a little man
A little errand ran
A little errand ran on a Monday, Monday
He rushed to Europe soon
And that very afternoon
This is what the little man did say, did say
War, War
We want war
We want war next Tuesday
War, War
A or H Bomb War
Any kind of war on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Amen, Amen.
They heard what he said
And in turn each shook his head
In turn each shook his head, this way, that way
We like to get your dough
But the people here you know
Are now wised up to you and surely would say, would say
War, War
We don't don't war
We don't want war next Tuesday
War, War
We don't want to die on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, any day, Amen, Amen.

Lawrence Gellert

How crazy can you get dept.

An idea well worth considering, conceived by L. M. Rhaesa, of Bush Manufacturing in Clawson. He doesn't like the coldness of the "No Help Wanted" signs on many factories, suggests that "Sorry, No Help Needed" would do much psychologically for the disappointed worker.
—Detroit Free Press, May 12.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: H. B., Detroit.

Reynolds News, London

"Equal Pay I agree with, but how did I come to get talked into this Equal Work!"

Attention, coffee lovers!

CHICAGO, ILL.

Here is a copy of a letter which appeared in the Chicago **Daily News** telling how to brew more coffee per pound:

"If you own either a drip or vacuum pot, throw it away. If you own a percolator, do the same with the innards. Use an ordinary pot.

"Second—Brand of coffee is immaterial. Just be sure it is pulverized, or, at least, drip grind.

"Third—Before retiring, put coffee in cold water—ONE level tablespoon to THREE cups water. Let it stand overnight. In the morning turn on the heat and the instant coffee boils turn off the heat. You will now discover how really uniform coffee can be."

Carolyn Buhr

Tried and tested in a GUARDIAN home (with 1½ tablespoons) and found very good. Try it. Ed.

Norman Thomas—Socialist

CHATSWORTH, CALIF.

Norman Thomas is a Socialist with a capital S. Or should I say capitalist S? A few weeks back he called on President Eisenhower and assured him of the "loyalty of Socialism." Is this a sample of creeping Socialism, Norman?

Mr. Thomas told reporters that the Republicans have adopted many of Socialism's planks. Logical. I never could tell the difference between Republicans and Thomas Socialists.

Mr. Thomas is the mid-century answer to the Social Democrats—Social Republicans. **Grace R. Potts**

A little speck

NEW LLANO, LA.

I have passed my 76 mile post. I am supposed to be on welfare. But as I still run a few head of cattle they very kindly cut my check down a few bucks every time I make a little speck. My object is to have a little extra money to help worthy causes. This object is generally defeated. I am not going to pledge anything at the present time, but will do so as soon as I can get my budget in shape. I enclose $5 for renewal and a little for the war chest.

Yours for the Commonwealth.

Chester C. Page

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REPORT TO READERS

Let freedom sing!

AMONG the reports in the N.Y. **Times'** bumper issue on the Supreme Court jimcrow-school decision was one telling how the Voice of America beamed the news abroad in 34 languages—especially to countries which, because of communist propaganda, believed the U.S. Negro "is still practically a . . . declassed citizen." Was the irony too subtle for the Washington-trained hucksters of the V of A? The news was directed mainly at countries which have made the propagation and practice of race prejudice a crime punishable by prison term. They did this the minute the people took over the governments—and one of their law-making models was the U.S. Constitution.

If the V of A really wants to stir our Chinese and Bulgarian cousins at the breakfast table (where the **Times** placed them listening to the broadcast), we have a proposal: Let it report that Paul Robeson's passport has been restored so that he can go to London to play Shakespeare and to Scandinavia to sing before great audiences. Let them say it is un-American for the American Legion and for the Atty. General to incite producers and proprietors of halls in our own country to bar Robeson and the audiences that want to hear him. Then, V of A's Hooper-rating abroad would go through the ceiling, and Chinese breakfasts would remain uneaten.

THESE THOUGHTS came the other day with the arrival of Paul Robeson's new Othello Records album, "Let Freedom Sing." As I listened I remembered a beautiful afternoon just three years ago when I sat with my older daughter, then 10, two other GUARDIAN children and a dear colleague in a New York apartment and listened to a concert by Robeson and pianist Lawrence Brown. There were just the seven of us.

It came about when my colleague had told Robeson it was a pity he couldn't sing during during the day more often so the kids could hear him. It was a shame, Paul said, and he'd see what he could do about it. Two days later he called and set a date. He sang a full concert and was as gracious and charming and magnificent with these three kids as he is with the most festive concert audience. It is the measure of the man and his limitless love for people and his faith in them.

AND WHAT A TREAT do you have in store when you hear this new album! I don't recall a finer or more sensitive recording of Paul Robeson's incomparable voice. It is a 10-inch LP record with 10 songs—piano accompaniment by Alan Booth, a young artist who has in the last two years distinguished himself in his own right in the concert hall.

Here are "Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel?" and the little-heard "There's A Man Going Round Taking Names"; the hauntingly lovely Irish "Kevin Barry" and "Zog Nit Keynmol," the song of the Warsaw Ghetto; the "Hymn for Nations," based on the Beethoven 9th Symphony choral; "Old Man River" and the "Volga Boatman"; "John Brown's Body" and "Joe Hill" and "The Four Insurgent Generals" from the Spanish Civil War. Ten songs, sung in four languages, with clean musicianship and the deepest kind of understanding.

WE WERE SO IMPRESSED that we want every GUARDIAN reader with a long-playing machine to share the experience. The album costs $4. But we have made a special arrangement with Othello Records to offer it to you for **only $3** plus postage. It's the greatest musical buy of the season. In addition, if you order through the GUARDIAN you will be entitled to similar discounts on future Othello records.

Just fill out the coupon below. And if you are in New York on Wed. eve., May 26, we'll see you at the Cultural Salute to Robeson at the Renaissance Casino, 138th St. at 7th Av. Anybody who's everybody will be there to hear a score of wonderful artists show how they feel about America's finest artist.

James Aronson

ROBESON ALBUM, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

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Indo-China, anyone? What French generals say about the shambles

The "neutralist" Paris weekly France-Observateur, *April 29, says that a report by one of the French military commanders in Indo-China has come into its hands; that on the basis of this report it consulted with various other French military leaders; and that the following represents the views they all share on "the errors, indeed the crimes," of French ministers Bidault, Pleven & Co.—"manufacturers of catastrophes" in Indo-China—whom the army leaders "will no longer endorse."*

THE [Red River] delta is already lost. . . . U.S. intervention would aggravate the situation. Most of the military leaders deeply fear it, not only for political reasons but for immediate tactical and strategic reasons.

Intervention by U.S. naval aviation would change almost nothing in our favor and can have directly opposite results. The whole area around Dienbienphu was sprayed with napalm without silencing the Vietminh batteries. Giap's men have learned to bury themselves, and the jungle makes massive use of air power ineffective. In the delta . . . air power could be effective, not on the Vietminh units which cannot be located and are hidden by day in dug-outs, but only on the very compact villages many of which supply the partisan units. The political effect would be disastrous, the military results deceptive.

On the other hand U.S. air intervention could lead to Chinese intervention . . . [and] one will see in Indo-China a Chinese-American air war whose effect on the ground will be infinitely less favorable to the expeditionary corps than the actual absence of hostile aviation. . . .

THE USE of troops from Formosa is easier said than done. There are no Chinese on the Vietminh side except for technical advisers **who are not fighting** and perhaps the drivers of certain motorized materiel. It was once thought that the anti-aircraft was manned by Chinese. This hypothesis has been abandoned. It has been noted that the Russian-

Francois in Tribune des Nations

language directions for use of the A.A. batteries have been translated into Vietnamese, and there is no indication of Chinese manning the guns. On the contrary . . . in March when five A.A. guns were taken by the French, their operators killed or captured, they were all Vietnamese.

The intervention of Chinese from Formosa would therefore be **unilateral intervention of Chinese personnel in the war.** To the hostility [of Vietnamese] toward Chinese in general would be added the contempt that exists throughout Asia for Chiang and his men. This could overturn the Bao Dai regime. Furthermore, these Chinese are mostly over 36 years old, have not fought since 1948 and have got into habits of comfort and drift. An officer who knows them well says: "Most of them would vanish into the woods and one would find them some day as small traders among the numerous Chinese population." Another officer thinks they would desert in mass to the enemy, asking to be returned to China.

Finally, if by some miracle the Formosans wanted to fight, Mao's troops could then intervene with the approval of all Asia.

LOGICALLY, strategically, politically, U.S. or U.S.-Formosan intervention is madness. Yet in spite of all, our informants told us with anguish, this intervention is possible: "The basic danger," one of them said, "comes from Admiral Radford. His chief source of information from Saigon, Gen. O'Daniel . . . is a good soldier but a madman who says simply that the French don't want to fight and all they have to do is advance to the north. He has a 'job,' he wants it to last and has no desire to make his return a retreat. Add to this that another adviser to Radford is [publisher Henry] Luce, Radford's main political supporter, for whom Chiang is the greatest statesman in the world—and you can measure the danger before which we stand."

Another general, speaking of [Gen.] Van Fleet, supposedly the commander in chief, said: "He understands nothing about the essence of war, about the relation between political and military matters; he jeers at it. If the authority is given to him he will advance into the fog without caring about the consequences, even if they provoke cataclysm."

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

menting this strategy. But signs are multiplying that it is steering the nation straight toward a new crisis—in Indo-China or, failing that, elsewhere—and a big kickup in military spending.

Business journals this month erupted in reports predicting billions will be added to the military budget. **Business Week** (5/15) said: "Defense spending may have to be boosted a long way." **U.S. News** (5/21) reported: "A speed-up rather than a slowdown now lies ahead in the arms race. . . . You can just about forget the idea of much more business recession." The **Journal of Commerce** (5/17) found something

> ". . . eerie these days in the tracing of the week-to-week changes in business prospects and their evaluation. This is due to the realization that, within a short time, all these commonplace evaluations may be crowded out by a basic change in the international picture, forcing us to reverse the switch on the defense program."

MORE BILLIONS: These reports suggest that business editors have been officially briefed. They follow by a month the decision to expand buying for war stockpiles, a decision which will increase "by billions of dollars [government] buying of metals and minerals" (**U.S. News**, 5/14). The current move to increase war spending was not unforeseen. Last Oct. 10 **BW** wrote:

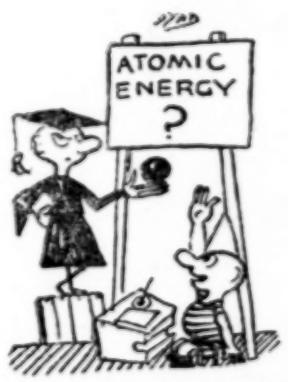
> ". . . The Joint Chiefs are working with factors that could boost appropriations by millions. . . . You can expect the tipoff on Eisenhower's 'new defense for new times' in the form of a supplemental request to Congress in the early spring."

Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Want a light?"

In the same issue **BW** reported "plenty of closed-door worry about recession," but said the decision as to what, if anything, should be done would have to await "Eisenhower's decision on defense" which would come in six months or so. Additional billions for defense, it pointed out, would eliminate the soft spots in the economy.

SPRING MUSIC: A major factor in the economy's relative strength in recent months has been this anticipated spring rise in war spending. The behavior of the stock market, the firmness of commodity prices, soaring prices of some key strategic materials (mercury rose from $184 a flask last November to $238 today)—all point to this. For business, any settlement at Geneva, any relaxation in world tension which would keep this kickup in the war budget



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Please teacher, wot's the difference between a defensive atom bomb and the other sort?"

from materializing, would be a real blow. Its impact would be similar to that of a sharp cut in military spending—and this only a few months before Congressional elections.

Economic pressure for new military adventures coincides with the powerful pressures for war generated by Washington's diplomatic and military defeats. In this critical situation, the Administration's drive to war has been enormously helped by the role played by the Democratic Party. That party has offered no alternative to the disastrous war program for Asia, a bipartisan program launched following the Communist victory in China. Its only criticism of the Administration has been that it made a truce in Korea and set out to cut military spending—in other words, that it did not carry out the war program successfully.

EAGER DEMOCRATS: The move for a big increase in war spending continues to be led by the Democrats. Committed to full employment by Roosevelt, the party was committed by Truman to achieve it through war spending; when voted out of office it was heading the nation toward a $100-billion budget. The Republicans, who wanted some unemployment to pave the way for cutting labor costs, set out to hold down military spending, for the time being, and try to balance the budget. A pool of five million unemployed was achieved not by an actual cut in war spending but simply by not increasing it. Thus the only difference between the Republicans and Democrats has been over economic policy. But the Administration always held the possibility of a big increase in military spending as a weapon in reserve against letting recession get out of hand, and now appears ready to use it.

In the current Indo-China crisis, the Democrats' performance in and out of Congress shows them as eager to join Eisenhower's war as the Republicans were to join Truman's in 1950. They have assumed a special task: to win back to support of the war program the rank and file of labor, which had begun to turn away from it and to make demands for tax cuts, etc., incompatible with it.

DEMAGOGY: This was shown most clearly in President Truman's speech before the Amalgamated Workers (5/14), in which he coupled the demand for more war spending with proposals to raise living standards and stimulate consumer buying—wage increases, tax cuts, etc.

But any increase in war spending can only add to —not relieve—the people's economic burdens; Truman's war-spending proposal nullifies his social promises. Even if gains like a rise in income-tax exemptions could be achieved politically in the atmosphere generated to put over new war spending, they would be wiped out by the new inflation which would follow.

THIS IS THE FIGHT: Winning a cut in arms spending depends on forcing a reappraisal from the ground up of U.S. foreign policy, whose failure is beginning to be made clear at Geneva. What the Indo-China crisis revealed, said J. C. Harsch (**CSM**, 5/12), is that

> ". . . not even the U.S. in all its panoply of atomic weapons is by itself and alone the equal in power of the Communist alliance. If the Western alliance were to collapse, the U.S. would in fact be a second-rate power in the world. . . ."

This partial recognition of the bankruptcy of Washington's "policy of strength" comes as the Western alliance is being split by internal contradictions and faces new strains in Europe as in Asia. Bigger defeats for that policy loom ahead. For Americans the fight to change it is the only way to keep the fight for economic gains from being frustrated in demagogy. It is the only way to escape from the accelerating tempo of the arms race which—if not halted—will explode into war.

Let Congress Know

The people who want jobs PLUS peace will not get them unless they bury Congressmen in letters demanding no Indo-China intervention and cuts in arms spending. These are the critical questions of the hour on which your elected representatives must be told how voters feel.

How does it sound to you?

Deputies of the German Reichstag, after a visit to the U.S., say they were startled to be told that, in case of atomic war, 65 million Americans would be casualties but the remaining 100 million would go on to win the war. That sounded to them like an awful lot of casualties.

—U. S. News, May 21.

Palo Alto Times

"He's gonna make up his mind any time now, folks."

H-bombs a menace to life? Read Halsey, Sokolsky, Fyfe

"I hate to see people in our country appearing to be jitterish right now. That's not becoming for an American. I can't see any difference between being killed by an atomic or hydrogen bomb and being killed by a hand grenade. There is too much hysteria in this country and it's due to too much talk."

—Admiral Halsey, quoted in N.Y. Times, April 23.

★

All the agencies of government have tried to frighten the American people . . . [about] the H-bomb. Has there been an evacuation of the big cities? Not so anyone would notice it. In fact, in our tenement we are all signing two-year leases at this moment. This is the kind of people who do not scare readily. If the H-bomb came along, some speculator would probably put up grandstands and hope to make an honest dollar.

—George Sokolsky in N.Y. Journal-American, April 28.

★

Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, home secy., told the British people today they must not lose their nerve in face of . . . the hydrogen bomb. . . . Sir David said: "To suppose that one such bomb could destroy the world, or even kill everyone in this country, is a sign of ignorance, hysteria and panic."

—N.Y. Herald Tribune, April 28.

AMNESTY: EVENTUALLY, WHY NOT NOW? (3)

Freeing of Eugene Debs in 1921 set historic precedent for today

By John T. McManus

AMNESTY Month, June 4-July 4, will find the first Smith Act victims completing the third year of their five-year sentences.

The most famous amnesty campaign of our century freed the Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs in 1921 after less than three years of a ten-year sentence under the Sedition Act of 1917.

Debs was arrested on June 30, 1918 after a month-long speaking tour against World War I. He continued to speak against the war—then in its second year—until his trial opened on Sept. 9 in Cleveland. Instead of a defense, Debs challenged the Constitutionality of the Sedition Act, repeated and stood by the statements which brought about his arrest. He was convicted and sentenced within a week.

As his case moved to the Supreme Court, Debs continued his attack on the war and the repression of the Woodrow Wilson administration, continued to support the Russian revolution as he had since 1917. He argued that the quickest way to end the war was for German and Austrian workers to overthrow their governments, too. He called the Bolsheviks "the inspiration of the world," hoped their ideas would "come to prevail" in America.

SWELLING TIDE: Debs was still at liberty when the war ended in Nov. 1918, but in March, 1919, the Supreme Court affirmed his conviction; he went to jail on April 13, after two months was transferred to Atlanta.

An amnesty campaign was begun even before he was confined, and after his imprisonment was led by Clarence Darrow, the most famous lawyer of the period. A speech by President Wilson in Sept., 1919, admitting what Debs had been saying, that the seed of war is "industrial and commercial rivalry," threw the campaign into high gear before Debs had been in jail six months. The Chicago Fedn. of Labor, with 250,000 members, petitioned for his immediate freedom. The Indiana Mine Workers urged his release and the removal of Wilson's postmaster-general, who had used his office to suppress radical newspapers.

An amnesty committee visited Debs in April, 1920; the warden released him in their custody for a triumphal ride of several hours through Atlanta. In May the Socialist national convention nominated him for President and a notification committee was admitted to the prison to obtain his acceptance. In the election he got nearly a million votes.

HARDING FOR AMNESTY: In the course of the 1920 campaign the Farmer-Labor candidate, Perley P. Christensen, had asked other candidates to join him in petitioning for Debs' release. This won from the Republican, Warren G. Harding of Ohio, a reply that he favored a general amnesty for political prisoners. Harding also told Clyde R. Miller, reporter for the Cleveland **Plain Dealer**, that if elected he would pardon Debs by July 4, 1921.

When Harding took office on March 4, 1921, one of his first acts was to order Atty. Gen. Harry M. Daugherty to review the Debs case. On March 24 Debs was released from Atlanta alone and unguarded to come to Washington for a three-hour interview with Daugherty.

Debs returned to Atlanta, but the amnesty campaign took a new spurt. The Socialists, with about 5,000 members left, secured 300,000 signatures to amnesty petitions and the endorsement of 700 organizations with 3,000,000 combined membership. Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffens, Clarence Darrow and other amnesty leaders redoubled their efforts. AFL pres. Samuel Gompers, former ambassador to Denmark Norman Hapgood and many other prominent individuals visited Debs in jail.

July 4 passed, but in August Harding said a decision would be made on the case after the Senate had ratified the peace treaty with Germany.

"I AM NOT FREE": The official peace proclamation was signed Nov. 14. Next day a large group of ex-servicemen staged an amnesty demonstration in Washington. Others followed. Finally on Dec. 23, Harding announced that Debs and 23 other political prisoners would be released on Christmas Day.

It was not a general amnesty, but Debs accepted release believing he could fight more effectively for amnesty for the rest as a free man than as a prisoner.

When he left Atlanta the warden suspended all rules and 2,300 prisoners crowded against the front wall to shout farewell to the man who had said, on the occasion of his sentencing:

"While there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

THE ANCIENT PRECEDENT: The atmosphere in which the Debs amnesty campaign was mounted was the most repressive in this century. The arrest and frame-up of Tom Mooney in 1916 had been followed by wholesale suppression of nonconformist publications, jailing of editors, labor leaders, intellectuals and many Socialist Party leaders. More than 2,000 IWW members were rounded up in 1917-18. The Palmer raids in 1919-20 at one point had 10,000 people in jails on suspicion of being aliens, not having draft cards, etc.

The views for which Debs went to jail (he once urged workers to take up arms against armed guards at a Rockefeller mine) were far different than those of today's 101 Smith Act victims. Then as now, it was a Democratic administration which did most of the jailing. Its Republican successors, Harding and Coolidge, granted the amnesties.

In granting the 1921 amnesty, Harding followed a precedent set by 14 Presidents before him—beginning with Washington, who freed the prisoners of the Whiskey Rebellion; Adams, who freed the debtor farmers of a later anti-Federalist rebellion; and Jefferson, who freed the victims of the Alien & Sedition Laws of 1798 and nullified the laws by permitting them to expire in disuse. Thus today's amnesty campaign follows one of the oldest precedents since the founding of the republic.

•

The GUARDIAN is indebted for many of the foregoing facts to Ray Ginger, author of the notable Debs biography, The Bending Cross, and to Dr. Herbert Aptheker, historian and author of the series on amnesty published in 1953 in the Worker and Daily Worker.

SMITH ACT FAMILY

No matter what the icing on the cake says, it was not a happy birthday for the Winters. Michele's father, Carl, went to jail with the first Foley Square victims. Her mother, Helen, was convicted with the Michigan Six. The case is now on appeal. Michele, 11, saves pennies for the defense.

ACTIONS FOR AMNESTY

1 WRITE A LETTER, either individually or with others, to President Eisenhower, asking that he grant amnesty to the Smith Act prisoners.

2 ASK ORGANIZATIONS to which you belong to discuss the question, and to write to President Eisenhower urging amnesty.

3 ARRANGE FORUMS at which the issues in the amnesty campaign may be discussed.

4 GET MATERIAL, speakers for meetings, other assistance from

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15 in prison, 51 others convicted, 14 on trial, 11 waiting

OF 105 Smith Act indictments since 1948, 15 persons are serving sentences in federal penitentiaries. 51 others have been convicted, 14 are on trial and 11 are awaiting trial. There have been three acquittals and five cases severed because of illness. William Pennock, Washington Pension Union leader, died while on trial. Five are political refugees. One convicted individual, Barbara Hartle of Washington, has turned informer.

• Nine of 12 national Communist leaders indicted in 1948 are in prison on basic five-year sentences. The case of William Z. Foster, national chairman, was severed because of illness. A new attempt to bring him to trial failed this month. Two of four who refused to surrender for imprisonment are still political refugees. The two others, Gus Hall and Robert Thompson, were captured and had three and four years respectively added to their sentences. Thompson was slugged with a lead pipe in a New York detention prison shortly after his capture and almost killed.

• Six Baltimore defendants indicted in 1951 are serving 2-5 year sentences, among them Maurice Braverman, attorney for the Maryland CP. Two other Maryland victims, Philip and Regina Frankfeld, are husband and wife. To visit them, their two children must travel to Atlanta and to West Virginia penitentiaries.

There is a special immediate need for $1,500 in the case of Mrs. Frankfeld, which may enable her to become the first Smith Act victim to be freed at the conclusion of her 2-year term in October. Before she may be freed, fine and costs of $1,500 must be in the hands of the Baltimore court when it recesses next month. Special contributions for this purpose may be sent to Mrs. Frankfeld's sister, Erna Martel, 51 Hamilton Pl., New York 31, N. Y.

• Of 21 indicted in New York in 1951, 13 were tried and convicted, two acquitted and two severed for illness. Four failed to surrender upon indictment; three are still political refugees, one was arrested and convicted in California in connection with harboring Robert Thompson, of the first Foley Square 11. The wife of Simon W. Gerson, one of the two acquitted, has since been served with a deportation order under the Walter-McCarran Act. The 13 New York convictions are being appealed, with former Federal Judge Delbert W. Metzger as chief counsel. Judge Metzger lost his seat on the federal bench for leniency in connection with bail for the Hawaii defendants.

A reception to Judge Metzger filled the ballroom of Manhattan Towers Hotel May 11 on the second day of arguments in the cases of the Foley Square 13 before the Circuit Court of Appeals. He is the first federal jurist to step from the bench to the defense of Constitutional rights.

• Fourteen convictions are under appeal in California (one case was severed for illness), five in Pennsylvania (one case severed for illness), seven in Hawaii, five in Washington (one was acquitted, one died during trial), six in Michigan. Nine people are on trial in Philadelphia, five in St. Louis. Eleven are awaiting trial in Cleveland.

Tom Little in Nashville Tennessean
WHOSE CHARACTER?

CHICAGO

'Salt of the Earth,' Robeson lick Legion

CURRENTLY concluding a triumphant return to its original New Mexican locale, the film **Salt of the Earth** opens May 28 at the Cinema Annex in Chicago after American Legion pressure forced the local Hyde Park theater to cancel an advertised opening engagement. A $25,000 suit has been filed against the Hyde Park for damages resulting from the cancellation.

Meanwhile, in Silver City, N. M., scene of the mine strike which inspired the film and one of its "locations," the new Silver Sky View Drive-In played the film to more than 10,000 people in four nights, had to book it for another three to meet the demand. Silver City has a population of 5,000, its neighboring Bayard, also a locale of the film, 2,000; and the entire county only 15,000.

When vigilante action was at its height seeking to drive the film makers out of New Mexico, the same exhibitors refused to let the producers show daily rushes in his small indoor theater. The same radio station which at that time broadcast five times a day a speech by Rep. Jackson of Calif., denouncing the project while it was in production, has had five-a-day broadcasts of rave notices the film has received in New York, San Francisco and elsewhere.

HOW IT BEGAN: The Chicago trouble started with projectionists who apparently thought their union was boycotting the film. While this was being cleared up (the head of the union directed in Los Angeles April 26 that members should project the film) the Hyde Park backed out of its contract. contract.

Source of the pressure was revealed when other theaters received letters from Edward Clamage, chairman of the Illinois American Legion's "Anti-Subversive Commission," reporting his efforts to influence the Hyde Park management and identifying the film as "thoroughly, through and through, an endeavor on the part of the Communistic elements to produce the greatest Communist propaganda picture ever developed in the U. S. A. . . . attempting to sell Totalitarian (sic)." Cinema Annex rejected Clamage's letter as "McCarthyism in the world of art" and expressed eagerness to exhibit the film. It is now booked there for an indefinite run.

ROBESON SRO: The same Clamage lost another round against culture in Chicago this month when he failed to halt a Paul Robeson concert on the University of Chicago campus. The concert was held May 8 in Mandell Hall, with 1,200 inside and a thousand others trying to get in. The student governing body resisted all pressure.

Religion, 5th Av. style

POWER OF EASTER LIKENED TO BOMB— . . . Preaching at the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, the Rev. Dr. John Sutherland Bonnell declared that "Easter dawn broke upon the ancient world with a might, majesty and power like that of the Hydrogen bomb."
—N. Y. Times, April 19.

Prof. Lovett honored by 400 at dinner

IN Chicago May 16, a conference of the Midwest Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born attended by 400 participants concluded with a testimonial dinner to its co-chairman Prof. Robert Morss Lovett. A pioneer in behalf of labor and foreign-born, Dr. Lovett was a leader in the fight on the Palmer Raids of 1920 and fought to save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti. He was later secretary of the Virgin Islands. At 84 he is today actively identified with the American Peace Crusade and the Progressive Party and is professor of English literature at the Univ. of Chicago.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT
Compassion and indignation

Greetings and commendations for his activity were received from dozens of university colleagues including Dr. Harold C. Urey. Speakers at the dinner represented labor, peace activity, the ministry, social work and the law. One speaker was a Chicago great-grandmother, Marie Kratockvil, now facing deportation under the Walter-McCarran Act. Civil liberties attorney Pearl Hart was chairwoman; principal speakers were John T. McManus of the GUARDIAN and Abe Feinglas of the Fur and Leather Workers Union. Feinglas gave Dr. Lovett an attaché case handmade by members of his union.

Acknowledging the testimonials, Dr. Lovett drew on Francis Bacon ("The nobler the nature, the more objects of compassion it has") and the "fierce indignation" of Jonathan Swift to propose a motto—"Compassion and Indignation"—for humanitarians today. For President Eisenhower, who has spoken against the Walter-McCarran Act but led no action against it, he offered a translation from Ovid: "I know the right, and do approve it, too; I know the wrong, and yet the wrong pursue."

ANNOUNCING

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Chicago

FRIENDS OF MANDEL TERMAN Keep open Sat., June 26, for huge dinner-tribute to Mandel, arranged by group of friends. Watch for details later. B. Brail, Chairman of Committee.

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Mrs. Fannie Wilson
P. S.: This is written by a neighbor, for Mrs. Wilson can't see very well She is 100 years old.

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THE BIG QUESTION WILL BE WASHINGTON'S ROLE

Africa: Next scene of colonial revolt?

By Kumar Goshal

AS People's China sat down for the first time with the UN Big Four last month, six years after its semi-colonial status was brought to an end, the eyes of the "colonial" half of the world were on Geneva. Of all the peoples struggling to wrest from foreigners the control of their own destiny, none were more concerned than the Africans—whose participation in a future conference with Asian countries was urged by Indonesia's Sastroamidjojo at the Asian Prime Ministers' talks in Colombo, Ceylon. As the Indonesian newspapers **Pemandangan** pointed out (4/28),

> ". . . the question of colonialism is not isolated, but inter-related. . . . White colonialists can no longer use the 'justification' . . . that they are more capable than the colored people of administering a country and therefore should be given the right to rule . . . [because] China has proved that the colored people can administer their country no less efficiently. . . . That is why [white colonialists] have been trying to smash People's China, because the latter endangers their 'interests.'"

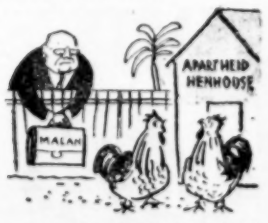
AFRICA & THE U.S.: That Africa may be the next scene of large-scale colonial revolt, with possible U.S. involvement to protect its "interests," is being freely prophesied. Africa may "prove an even greater threat to the peace of the world than Asia," said UN Trusteeship director Ralph Bunche May 1 in a speech frankly calling the U.S. an imperialist power. To Howard University pres. Dr. Mordecai Johnson this is

> ". . . the most important question in the world at this hour. . . . Is the U.S. going to use her military power to support the political domination, the economic and social segregation and humiliation of the people of Africa?"

Western "interest" in Africa centers around its mineral resources—much of which is U.S.-dominated—and U.S.-built air bases. From Africa the U.S. gets "40 critical strategic raw materials," according to Col. Kent Hunter, U.S. Army retd., after a recent African tour (Chicago **American**, 3/7). To keep the supply flowing cheaply and uninterruptedly, time-honored colonial techniques are used:

> "Where there is local willingness to support this intensified imperialism, the administration is pleased to hand out bounties. Where there is reluctance, pressure is brought to bear; where there is refusal, the use of troops, suspension of constitutions and . . . deportation of traditional rulers is the answer of the 'civilizing' power" (**Peace News**, London, 12/53).

What this means for Africans, and why they listen so keenly as China speaks at Geneva, may be seen in these current developments.



Drawing by Gabriel, London

"Now he wants us to lay all our eggs with Whites Only!"

Union of S. Africa

In the country whose white Prime Minister Malan has set the extreme post-war example of racial oppression, a population registration act now requires all citizens to carry identity cards with photographs and unequivocal statements about racial origin. Drastic segregation laws have created problems for industry and brought protests from white housewives whose "S. African way of life" depends upon plenty of African servants (N.Y.**Times**, 3/8); but the government continues uprooting non-Europeans from their homes, and suggests relocation of industry near the ghettos.

Such repressive legislation—a British Trades Union Congress committee reported after a six-week S. African study—together with new laws giving the governmtnt greater control over union finances and election of union officials, add up to a drive to destroy unions. Labor Minister Schoeman said: "If the native obtains full economic equality with the European, then political equality must inevitably follow—and we are not prepared to commit race suicide" (London **Observer**, 5/5). Justice Minister Swart reported that of 516 persons banned from public gatherings, holding office, traveling, etc., 42 are union officials.

The Hitler-shaped shadow of Malan spreads north as S. Africa, which has already swallowed formerly mandated S.W. Africa, now demands annexation of neighboring British protectorates Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland.

THEY WANT ACTION: Organized Africans, Indians, Colored persons (of mixed origin) and progressive whites are planning a People's Congress "based on a truly representative election of people from all strata," to draw up a Freedom Charter. European reaction has been twofold: Malan's Nationalist Party and Jan Strauss' United Party (predominantly British) have drawn closer to preserve white supremacy; a white minority belonging to the S. African Labor Party (formerly lily-white) and novelist Alan Paton's Liberal Party have espoused limited political rights for Africans based upon literacy.

African response to Paton's "gradualism" remains meager. In Cape Province, where an urban African minority is permitted to elect a white MP, they continue to pick a militant to represent them. Three whites whom they elected—Sam Kahn, Fred Carneson and Brian Bunting—were expelled from parliament as communists. Last month they elected Ray Alexander, white woman trade unionist who believes in full equality for all Africans, over a Liberal candidate by a 4-1 margin. She too was promptly denied her seat.

"WE ARE LITTLE BETTER OFF THAN DEAD. . . ."
A roundup of "terrorists" by British colonial police in Kenya

Kenya

AP (1/25) predicted "long anti-white warfare in Kenya despite British bombs." The British press continues to stress the "Mau Mau terror," but liberal commentators are increasingly distressed by the British terror against Kikuyu tribesmen—especially since the Supreme Court rejected the appeal from a long jail term of African Union leader Jomo Kenyatta whom few really believe to be a "terrorist." In a letter to British newspapers late last year which almost all of them suppressed, a Kikuyu group wrote:

> "We are little better off than dead . . . European young men in the Police Reserve [are] arresting people . . . and taking them at night to the forest . . . where they handcuff them together, shoot them, and leave their bodies there as 'proof' that they were 'terrorists..' . . . Any man [with] property is called 'Mau Mau treasurer.' Any educated man is said to be a 'Mau Mau secretary.' . . .We demand a commission of inquiry . . . from Britain; [but] if all the responsible Africans have been killed . . . who will speak to that delegation, when dead people never speak?"

RESISTANCE STILL GROWS: A six-member bipartisan British commission eventually reported to Parliament (2/23) its findings of police "brutality and malpractices," of $15 prizes offered to soldiers killing "terrorists," of soldiers bringing back as evidence the severed hands of a slain "Mau Mau," of white settlers' funds to indemnify whites accused of offenses against Africans. (Last Dec. 21 **Reuters** reported that when police officer Franz Hvass was fined $140 for beating Africans with a rhinoceros-hide whip, a white settler in court immediately paid the fine in full.) The commission found that African resistance has grown stronger, although Colonial Secy. Lyttelton has listed 3,399 Africans killed and 1,380 captured—including such leaders as "Gen. China."

Under a new constitution, the Kenya Council of Ministers will include one African and two Asians—appointed by the Governor—to represent the 5½ million Africans and 154,000 Asians, respectively, and 13 elected Europeans representing 42,000 whites.

West & Central Africa

> "The profits are still enormous, the political stagnation is complete, the 'maximum of 60 days' forced labor' [of Africans] is still regular procedure in the countryside. . . . [The government spends] great sums of security money . . . every year in making sure that no healthy political influence ever comes near [the Africans]."

Such is the London **New Statesman's** on-the-spot report (4/10) on Belgian Congo, whose huge uranium deposits are U.S.-controlled. Yet a strong industrial working class is developing, and Belgians are speaking "with anxious alarm" of events in Kenya.

In Ghana (Gold Coast), the colony furthest advanced toward self-government, African Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah has started red-baiting and ousted two prominent labor leaders, Anthony Woode and Turson Oran, from his Convention People's Party for belonging to the World Fedn. of Trade Unions. Nkrumah has formally welcomed the U.S.-dominated Intl. Confedn. of Free Trade Unions, announced a ban on Communists in government jobs, invited foreign capital. The N.Y. **Times** concluded (12/27/53) that "the West has won a round" in the East-West contest "for the mind and soul of the African." But the London **African World** (April), while not suggesting that "Dr. Nkrumah will now embark on a 'witch-hunt,'" remembered "that these things have happened in other parts of the world." Elections this month will indicate the political effect of Nkrumah's actions.

Discovery of uranium in Nigeria brought an Intl. Bank for Reconstruction & Development mission there last year to assess its "internal and external resources, natural, human, financial, available for future economic development." Britain is trying to maintain control by splitting the country into three sections—as in India; but a new united front alignment is indicated in efforts to establish a Nigerian Trade Union Fedn. and in the successful founding conference last year of the Fedn. of All-Nigerian Women's Organizations.

DROPS OF DEMOCRACY: Britain has sent Cambridge-educated Mutesa II—the Kabaka (King) of Buganda—to join the previously exiled Seretse Khama. Mutesa opposed the British plan to form a unitary state out of Uganda, where Buganda had been placed as a province against the wishes of the people. A united Uganda (pop. 5 million Africans, 40,000 Indians, 5,000 Europeans) under British rule would ensure "more effective control of the population and exploitation of resources" (**Peace News**, 12/4/53). The Monsanto Chemical Co., among others, has shown great interest in exploiting Uganda's newly-explored mineral resources.

A Buganda delegation to London, seeking Mutesa's return, opposed incorporation in the unitary Uganda State in light of what federation had done to Africans in N. and S. Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In last December's Central African Fedn. elections, non-Europeans qualified to vote were: 441 Africans, 594 Asians, 570 Colored in S. Rhodesia; 3 Africans, 856 Asians and Colored in N. Rhodesia; 75 Asians and no Africans in Nyasaland. (The Federation contains a total of 6 million Africans and 200,000 Europeans.) In the 35-seat Federal Assembly, Africans hold six seats plus three white members "representing African interests." No Asians were elected; in S. Rhodesia and Nyasaland Asians voted with the white electorate; N. Rhodesia evidently elected Africans.

But things are happening in copper-rich, U.S.-dominated Central Africa. The powerful African Mineworkers' Union is fighting for job equality of Africans in both Central and S. Africa. And to Colonial Secy. Lyttelton's statement that real franchise in Africa "would mean Europeans being swamped by African voters," N. Rhodesia African Natl. Congress president Harry Nkumbula replied:

> "The so-called 'swamping' is inevitable. . . . Time is on the Negroes' side."

AN EDITORIAL

Will He?

Do you remember the famous statement made by Dwight D. Eisenhower in the 1952 campiagn:

"I shall go to Korea."

Can we now expect these words from Eisenhower:

"I shall go to Indo-China."

Madison (Wis.) **Capitol Times**, May 10.

A DREAM TURNED INTO A FRAUD

St. Lawrence Seaway bill signed by Ike provides gravy boat for power interests; Canadians resent plan, revolt possible

By Lawrence Emery

ON May 13 President Eisenhower conducted a "historic ceremony": with nine fountain pens he signed a bill authorizing the U. S. to construct a series of canals and locks along a 46-mile stretch of the St. Lawrence River—the only part of the river that doesn't lie wholly in Canadian territory. Horning in on the history were 43 Congressmen who looked over the President's shoulder as he set down his signature. Present also was Canada's Ambassador.

Some of the Congressmen made speeches; the Ambassador remained silent. The N. Y. **Times** said "his [the President's] action brought closer to reality a dream of 50 years"; the claim was fraudulent, the bill he signed a product of power politics and some grimy money-grabbing. Most Canadians felt insulted and humiliated.

FRIENDS OF THE BOSS: For 30 years the U. S. Congress has blocked joint development by the two countries of a vast 2,450-mile St. Lawrence Seaway that would open the heart of the North American continent in the Great Lakes to deep-sea shipping. By 1951 Canada had tired of this obstruction, announced its willingness and ability to construct the Seaway alone, entirely within its own borders.

This threat finally stirred the belated Congressional action that the President signed into law on May 13. But there was another factor: Eisenhower's Secy. of the Treasury George Humphrey is a steel man; he is boss of the giant Hanna holding company, head of Natl. Steel and Hollinger Steel and closely associated with Wheeling Steel. The Mesabi Range in Minnesota is running out of iron ore to feed his and other big mills in the Lakes region; ore in the future must be brought from rich deposits in Labrador. So Humphrey wanted a limited seaway to bring Labrador ore to Toledo, Ohio, and he got it. Columnist Drew Pearson pointed out:

"Going farther west than Lake Erie does not interest the steel companies, since their plants are largely in the Ohio-Pennsylvania area."

Pearson also pointed out that one of Eisenhower's closest friends is James Black and that "Black gets over $100,000 a year to act as Washington representative of Republic Steel."

TARDY DIMWITS: Canadians saw no history-making in Eisenhower's nine-pen ceremony. From Ottawa **NYT** reported that his signature

". . . does not automatically insure that Canada will accept U. S. participation in the project. It became evident today [May 13] that opinion within the Cabinet was divided on the question of giving up the plan for an all-Canadian Seaway. . . ."

Said the Ottawa **Citizen:**

"Canada's own plans for an independent enterprise are so far advanced that this tardy measure is more an embarrassment than a source of satisfaction."

The Toronto **Telegram** had another point:

"The prospect that the Seaway when built may remain a football of American politics and subject to malicious investigation by dimwit Congressmen cools off any Canadian enthusiasm at this late date for praising the House of Representatives for voting for the Seaway."

"CANADA WILL REGRET": R. H. Davis, pres. of Canada's Atlas Steels Ltd., told the **Financial Post:**

"Canada will regret trying to work with the U. S. on this project. They will insist on supplying all labor and material. If we both agree to go along on a share basis and assume the U. S. agrees to put it on our property, how would the U. S. go about jointly controlling the operation of this canal? Would they expect to send officials to Canada with Army trucks, government paraphernalia, etc? In other words, would we have a Suez Canal running through Canada the same as Egypt has?"

Said the Toronto **Daily Star:**

"Canada's patience with political log-rolling in the U. S. at the expense of the St. Lawrence project long ago became exhausted. Canadians can stand on their own feet, pay for the full cost of the Seaway and allow the U. S. to use it at a price. Canada should get on with the project and end the shenanigans."

YANKS ARE COMING: Under the slogan, "Keep the St. Lawrence Seaway Canadian," the left-wing Labor-Progressive Party said on May 11:

"After delaying this St. Lawrence Seaway for nearly 50 years the U. S. now wants to horn in on this Canadian project and for $100 million clamp U. S. military rule over the St. Lawrence, Canada's historic lifeline from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic. . . . The U. S. Eisenhower Administration wants the St. Lawrence under strict Yankee Army control to tighten Wall St.'s grip upon Canada. . . . The people must never permit the St. Laurent government to sign an agreement which allows the U. S. Army to establish a military zone of occupation on the St. Lawrence."

Eisenhower's ceremony on May 13 might have been historic after all: it could be the beginning of Canada's declaration of independence.

YIPPEE! GET THE GRAB BAGS OUT AGAIN
Sen. Wiley and the President at Seaway signing ceremony

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Monument by George Salendre, Paris, 1954

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A PILGRIMAGE TO GEORGIA

Parole Board rejects plea to free Rosa Lee Ingram

By Eugene Gordon

JACKSON INGRAM, Negro sharecropper of Schley county, Ga., died in August, 1947. His sharecropper-widow Rosa Lee Ingram was left with 12 children (two having died before her husband), a mule, a milk cow with a calf, 15 hogs, and a ripening crop of corn, cotton, sugar cane, and peppers; with such farm tools as a plow, a harrow, a peanut weeder, and some hoes, pitchforks, shovels and rakes.

He left her on the land they had sharecropped under white landowner C. M. Dillinger. ("I didn't make a cent out of that farm," she said. "I had to make my children work out all the time so I could buy something to eat.")

THE ATTACK: Busy in her kitchen one morning three months after becoming a widow, Mrs. Ingram heard white sharecropper John Stratford hollering: "Get 'em out of here before I kill 'em!" She ran into the yard, saw her neighbor trying to drive three of her hogs and her mule from his field. He threatened her, cursing, while she was getting the animals back to her side of the fence. Later that day, in her cotton field, he surprised her from a hiding place. This was her story:

> "I didn't see him till he spoke to me. Before my husband died he had trouble with this man. Mr. Stratford was a sharecropper, just like us, but, being he was white, he tried to boss us. [On this day] he wouldn't let me go. He threw his gun on me and he hit me with it. He called me everything because I wouldn't do what he wanted me to do."

Screaming, she wrestled him for possession of his gun. He clubbed her head and battered her face. Her 15-year-old son Wallace came running, tussled with Stratford and took the gun. She later told the Pittsburgh **Courier:**

> "If it hadn't been for my son Mr. Stratford would have killed me. He wouldn't turn me loose until my son hit him again. Mr. Stratford did not die in a pretty way, but he died from the gun that he hit me with."

JUSTICE: She sent Wallace to Ellarville to fetch the sheriff. Her story to the **Courier** continued:

> "Me and my children, we were getting along all right until he started at me. He couldn't make me go his way and he got mad. The last time he tried to make me go his way I cursed him; and he called me everything because I wouldn't do what he wanted me to do. And this is just what it's all about—me not having him. I didn't want him and I didn't have him. I hate that it happened like it did, but I could not help it."

Her 13-year-old Sammy had watched from a distance. Charley, 11, was not at home and was freed; but Mrs. Ingram, Wallace and Sammy, on the fourth "trial" day, were sentenced to the electric chair. Jackson Jr., the eldest, was jailed for a year allegedly for "stealing" the dead assailant's purse.

The sentencing judge yielded to pressure two months later, changed the sentence to life in prison. Georgia justice in the spring of 1951 got Jackson Jr. again for "breaking into" a house; he was taken away from his wife and two small children to 10 years in prison.

MOTHER'S DAY: The day after this year's Mother's Day, **AP** reported:

> "A weeping group of white and Negro women made another appeal to the Georgia Board of Pardons and Paroles today for the freedom of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram. . . The delegation included Mrs. Amy Hunt of Philadelphia, mother of Mrs. Ingram. Most members of the group broke into loud sobs when Mrs. Hunt was introduced by Mrs. Nora Stanton Barney [descendant of woman-suffrage fighter Elizabeth Cady Stanton] of Greenwich, Conn., spokesman for the Women's Committee for Equal Justice [6 E. 17th St., N.Y.C. 3], sponsor of the visit. Charles A. Pannell, chairman, and the other board members, heard the delegation without comment. . . ."

From Atlanta it was reported May 13 that Georgia's pardon and parole board

> ". . . rejected the plea . . . to grant clemency for Mrs. Ingram and her two sons. . . . The board, in declining to consider clemency, said the case would be considered next August."

THEY LISTENED, THEY WERE SILENT, THEY REFUSED
In the Georgia Parole Board office (l. to r.): Mrs. Nora Stanton Barney (seated); Mrs. Octavine Reed, secy. to registrar of Morehouse College, with hand on shoulder of Mrs. Amy Hunt, Mrs. Ingram's mother (seated); Mrs. Maude White Katz. Extreme right: Mrs. Leah Young of Atlanta.

AM-SOV COUNCIL SAYS

Peace is the issue — and right to dissent

THREE days after the start of McCarran Act hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board in Washington, at which it is contesting the requirement to register as a "Communist front," the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship held its 11th annual membership meeting in N. Y. May 13. Exec. dir. Rev. Richard Morford told the 200 persons who attended that the Council "has only one purpose—that of creating international understanding which leads to peace." Natl. chairman Dr. John A. Kingsbury—a descendant of Presidents John and Samuel Adams and of John and Priscilla Alden—said, quoting from his opening-day statement to the SACB:

> "The fundamental issue is whether individuals and groups in our country shall continue to have the right to express their dissent when, in their judgment, a policy appears not to serve the nation's best interests."

Flatly denying the "Communist-front" allegation, the Council takes issue with a policy which "is leading us down the road to a war of nuclear weapons"; it advocates co-operation, cultural interchange and expanded trade between the two great powers, said Kingsbury.

AREAS OF AGREEMENT: In a public forum after the meeting, admin. secy. Bayer said the most important benefit of trade with the ⅓ of the world's population now excluded from U.S. trade is not in more jobs for American workers and farmers, or dollars for business, but in strengthening the interest of all these groups in peace and an end to the arms race.

"If the President of the U.S. had the power to throw the first atomic bomb, the President also has the power to renounce the use of atomic weapons for war," said Dr. Mary Van Kleeck, reporting on a projected Council study of disarmament and atomic control. She stressed that when the Soviets replied to Eisenhower's proposals for an atomic pool last December, they maintained the need for eliminating the use of atomic energy for war purposes, but did not ask an end to atomic stockpiles as they had previously.

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NEW YORK

Dockers vote May 26 on ILA vs. AFL; Bridges, Lewis watch

By Elmer Bendiner

AT 70 Joseph P. Ryan, ex-"president-for-life" of the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn., stood trial for stealing some $48,000 of union funds. Louis Waldman, attorney for the deposed "King Joe," pleaded with the jury to let him live out the rest of his days "honorably."

The 12 blue-ribbon jurors allowed him to live out his days prosperously anyway. After 18 hours of deliberation they reported themselves hopelessly deadlocked. A new trial seemed unlikely.

GRAVER THREATS: For almost 20 years Ryan had administered the plundering of the port and pocket-picking of the longshoremen. (At his trial he claimed he did it only to fight communism.) As Ryan faded from the waterfront he seemed the least of the union's enemies, replaced by far graver threats which set May 26 as a zero hour for east coast waterfront unionism. The Natl. Labor Relations Board had scheduled new elections on that day. The results will settle more than a matter of jurisdiction.

JOSEPH RYAN
Blue ribbons and all

The independent ILA is beset first of all by an unprecedented governmental regimentation in which workers are screened, fingerprinted, hired out of government-run halls. On that issue the longshoremen fight almost unaided against a move that could shackle all U.S. labor more effectively than Taft-Hartley.

NEW KNUCKLES: Government has done more: it has tried to force the longshoremen out of the union of their choice, into a new one. In close teamwork with Gov. Dewey and Mayor Wagner is the AFL.

After expelling the ILA last fall the AFL sent the Intl. Seafarers Union headed by Paul Hall onto the N.Y. waterfront to raid the ILA. Longshoremen feared Paul Hall's brass-knuckles history, his close ties with government forces behind the regimentation scheme. They suspected he would seek a way out of maritime unemployment by giving his ISU members longshore jobs.

STRIKE AFTERMATH: Last December the AFL raiders were decisively defeated in a Natl. Labor Relations Board election. The results were tied up in the courts and boards by joint Dewey-AFL protests. The contract lapsed and longshoremen were left without union protection or any possibility of bargaining with shippers. The situation provoked a 29-day strike, longest in the port's history. It was a rank-and-file walkout that forced the leadership to join it. Injunctions failed to break it.

The NLRB meanwhile voided the election results, set a new one for May 26 and threatened to bar the ILA from the ballot unless the strike was called off. The men went back to work. Reprisals against strikers followed quickly. The union and eight of its locals were fined $92,500 for "criminal conspiracy" and these jail sentences were handed ILA officials: Harold Bowers; secy. Local 824, six months; Wm. Lynch, secy.-treas. Local 791 and William Ackalitis, business agent Local 847, three months each. The cases are under appeal.

The strong-arm reputations of the men sentenced were irrelevant. They were charged only with heading a strike. The prosecution was timed to stir fears among ILA voters two weeks before the elections.

ENTER HARRY & JOHN: In the ILA corner as election day neared was Harry Bridges, pres. of the west coast Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, veteran foe of waterfront racketeers and piecards. In a recent issue of the ILWU's

(Continued on Page 10)

BARNEY'S BOOBYTRAP—OR, THE PERILS OF LIFE IN THE BIG TOWN
Barney Shilley, 2, got his foot stuck in a drainpipe near his Brooklyn home and it took three police radio cars, an emergency truck and 40 minutes to free him, not much the worse for wear. It's nice to show the cops in a friendly light once in a while.

McCARTHYIZING THE CITY'S MOTHERS

Witch-hunters move against PTA's

THE ATTACK on parents' groups throughout New York looked like well-organized warfare. American Legionnaires acted as shock troops in PTA meetings while a cold war went on through diplomatic channels between school officials and parents claiming the right of free association.

Last week the City Council held hearings on a loyalty-oath requirement for parents, and it became known that the Board of Education had quietly slipped a dangerous political test into its permits for schoolhouse meetings.

KLEIGS AND OATHS: The war inside the public schools still flamed in P.S. 49 on Penelope Av., Bayside, Queens, where for months the Legion and the L.I. **Star-Journal** have kept the neighborhood in a turmoil. It began with window-smashing at the home of Dr. Irving Peress, Sen. McCarthy's target. Then came the demand, mainly by Legion officials, that Mrs. Elaine Peress be removed as editor of the PTA bulletin, the **Forty-Niner.** Hecklers repeatedly broke up PTA meetings in riots under the glare of TV camera lights, shouting for Mrs. Peress to "take the oath."

When she withdrew from her position, the same cry was raised in similar stormy sessions demanding that all PTA officers "take the oath." The Legion's Americanism Committee chairman Matthew J. Shevlin urged disbanding the whole PTA, and shortly afterward Mrs. Anna R. Bigall, principal of P.S. 49 reportedly told PTA officers that Dr. Jansen had so ordered. (Questioned by the GUARDIAN, Mrs. Bigall would neither confirm nor deny that she had told PTA officials of the threat, but repeated only: "No action has been taken.")

"COVERING UP": Harried by daily attacks in the local press, PTA officials appealed to Mrs. Francis X. Heidl, president of the Queens Fedn. of Mothers Clubs, with which the P.S. 49 group is affiliated. Mrs. Heidl said she could not help unless they all signed loyalty oaths.

Though the N.Y. Civil Liberties Union officials advised against it, all but two of the officials signed. Legionnaires then turned on Mrs. Heidl, charging her with "covering up" for communists.

SPREADING HYSTERICS: The "take the oath" cry which began with Mrs. Peress has since spread city-wide. City Council-

(Continued on Page 10)

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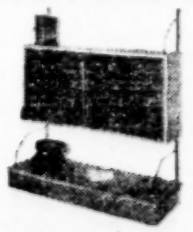

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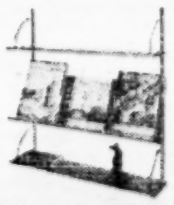

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Witch-hunters

(Continued from Page 9)

man Robert E. Barnes (R-Queens) introduced a bill to require loyalty oaths of all parent-group officers. The Council's city affairs committee last week held public hearings on the measure, heard statements against it from spokesmen of the N.Y. Civil Liberties Union, United Parents Assns., Public Education Assn., American Jewish Committee, American Veterans Committee, Metropolitan Council of B'nai B'rith, American Assn. of University Women.

John P. Lyford of the PEA called the oath "a cheap sale of respectability." George E. Rundquist of the N.Y. C.L.U. said the bill was "unconstitutional, negative, intimidatory." The committee put off any action.

"MENTIONED" MOTHERS: At P.S. 153, at 1615 Madison Av., Mrs. Ina Wood was up for election for PTA president. (She had served as secy., been active in the PTA for five years.) Board of Education member George A. Timone wrote a letter indicating that because Mrs. Wood had been "mentioned" in Senate Internal Security subcommittee hearings, she was "undesirable."

In a tense meeting with Legionnaires threatening a riot the president of the school's PTA refused to let the membership vote on Mrs. Wood. She was stricken from the ballot. The cautious PTA president had this excuse: The Board of Education, in another turn of the screw, had inserted into the application form for permits to meet in schools a paragraph declaring that no officer or member of the exec. committee belongs to any organization listed by the Justice Dept. or Board of Regents.

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Dockers vote

(Continued from Page 9)

Dispatcher, Bridges wrote:

"Only the rank and file can take care of corrupt and racketeer leaders. Give them a chance and they'll judge and choose their own leaders, as has been done for many years in the ILWU. . . . We are supporting the ILA because it is the union which the majority of the longshoremen want. It led their fight against the jurisdiction raiders, the union busters, the scab herders and the politicians—and it led the fight to get a union contract from the employers."

Issuing no statements but plainly interested was John L. Lewis, who gave the ILA $150,000 of United Mine Workers funds to defeat the AFL raid. ILA leaders checked with him throughout the strike and its "no contract-no work" banner seemed borrowed from the miners. Last month leaders of the tugboatmen, affiliated with ILA, voted to recommend to their membership outright affiliation with the UMW.

STICKERS FOR UNITY: In the coming election the ILA will make its stand not only against government regimentation, against raiding, but for coastwise unity. Longshoremen in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, New Orleans, Houston, Galveston, Mobile have remained loyal to the ILA.

The **Dockers News,** organ of an ILA rank-and-file group, last week handed out an election handbill on the waterfront. It listed its reasons for an ILA vote in this order: "Vote to keep all east coast longshoremen united in one strong union; vote to keep out the Dewey-Shipowner-Hall control of our jobs; vote for a united ILA (Ind.) to win a decent contract."

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ROBESON

JUNE 25-JUNE 27

Guardian sets gala week-end at White Lake

WHAT is so rare, a sweltering poet once said, as a week-end out of the city in June? Especially the last week-end in June. That's the date (Fri. eve., June 25, thru Sun. eve., June 27) of the GUARDIAN's Week-end at White Lake Lodge, the gracious and beautiful resort at White Lake, N.Y., in the mountains 100 miles from New York.

This is the best way we know to beat the big rush out of town on the July 4 week-end (during which you can bask in the shadows of a quiet city). The White Lake week-end costs just $24, and it includes transportation to and from New York, magnificent food, comfortable beds, swimming in a beautiful lake, tennis, horseback riding. And . . .

• **LIONEL STANDER**, stage and screen star, who will entertain you with a special hilarious program.

• **KUMAR GOSHAL**, GUARDIAN's Far East expert, who will give a stimulating talk on the big news of the day.

It shapes up to be one of the grandest GUARDIAN week-ends ever—and we've had some pretty terrific ones. Reservations may be made NOW. Call Theodora Peck, WOrth 4-3960, or write: Guardian Week-End, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N.Y.

Bert Brecht forum

Eric Bentley, author and drama critic, will be guest lecturer on "The Theater of Berthold Brecht" at an open meeting of Actor's Mobile Theater at 8:30 p.m., Wed., May 26, at the drama school's studio, 430 6th Av.

Lies and Liars

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

On fleet wings fly the lies across the skies
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Afoot, in leaden shoes, o'er sharp stones,
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W. P. C.

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Events for Children

Films

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B'KLYN MUSEUM, Eastern Parkway & Wash. Av. The U.S.A., 3:30 p.m., Sun., May 30. Travel Films & Comedies for children on Sats. at 10:30 p.m. Free.

N.Y. HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Central Park W. at 77th St. Documentary films, older children: American Frontier; High Wall; Born Equal, Sat., 2 p.m., May 29. Free.

Dance & Music

MUSIC SCHOOL JUNIOR ORCH. concert performance conducted by Alexander Richter. 3 p.m., Sat., May 22. Henry St. Playhouse, 466 Grand St. Seats unreserved, call OR 4-1100.

DANCE CONCERT: Playhouse Dance Company in New England Suite, Forest of Three, Tent Show, directed by Alwin Nikolais. Henry St., May 29, 8:30 p.m. Admission: $1.25.

Miscellaneous

SPECIAL: Children's Hootenanny—Songs and stories in the American and international tradition with Davey Sear, Betty Sanders, Johnny Richardson, Peggy Mair and Jackie Berman. Al Hylton, magician, will also perform. Sponsored by People's Artists, Inc., 124 W. 21st St., Studio 5. Refreshments will be served. Admission: 75c.

AMERICAN YOUTH HOSTEL, Metropolitan N. Y. Council. Hosteling vacations begin in June—full week bike, hiking trips to Cape Cod and Ann, the Fingerlakes; canoeing and camping on Lake George. Many other trips planned. Write AYH, Met. N.Y. Council, 344 W. 36th St. One day trips open to all:

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AT THE STATUE

Emma Lazarus rite May 22 on Bedloes I.

UNDER the Statue of Liberty, where the poem "The New Colossus" was inscribed on a tablet 51 years ago, the poet—Emma Lazarus—will be honored Sat., May 22, at 1 p.m., despite efforts to prevent this annual ceremony. The Hearst N.Y. **Journal-American** acknowledged May 6 that its current campaign against the pilgrimage to Bedloes Island, originated some year ago by the Emma Lazarus Fedn. of Jewish Women's Clubs, was inspired by Rabbi Benjamin Schultz. Schultz, who was ousted in 1947 from Yonkers' Temple Emanu-El by the trustees, was unanimously condemned at that time by the N.Y. Board of Rabbis for having "used the smear technique of the scandal-monger"; the late Rabbi Stephen S. Wise called him "a professional and probably profiteering communist-baiter . . . unworthy to be even a member, not to say a rabbi, of a Jewish congregation."

The Emma Lazarus Fedn. conducts an independent program "to carry forward the crusading spirit of Emma Lazarus" in such fields as child welfare and education, action against anti-Semitism and Negro discrimination, and foreign-born rights. Saturday's celebration will mark the 105th aniversary of Emma Lazarus' birth.

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Guardian Weekend at White Lake Lodge

See story on this page

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the SPECTATOR

America's Negro artists

THE FIGHT TO END DISCRIMINATION in the schools came to a climax last week with a clear moral: breaking down discrimination aganist Negroes in all fields can be accomplished neither by the sceptre nor the sledge-hammer.

During the past century white audiences with no inkling of a Negro heritage applauded an Ira Aldridge playing Shakespeare, or a "Black Patti" singing arias, as an isolated phenomenon. Only now are we shedding this patronizing concept of astonishing uniqueness, which is no more than stereotyping in reverse. The noteworthy achievements of so many Negro artists indicate how vastly our national life will be enriched when all color barriers are removed.

After World War I the general shakeup of American mores forced a re-evaluation of the Negro people's contribution to our history and our times. Eugene O'Neill attempted in **Emperor Jones** and **All God's Chillun Got Wings** to portray Negroes with seriousness and imagination. At the same time enterprising Broadway showmen presented not isolated entertainers but large revue companies. Mostly these performers hitherto had been routed over the "Toby Circuit"—a string of vaudeville houses catering to audiences excluded from or pushed around in white theatres. Broadway ticket buyers cheered the music, the dancing and the comedy of these "colored shows."

IRA ALDRIDGE

Since understanding lagged behind appreciation, they were bemused by the fantasy of a uniformly happy-go-lucky folk. The titles of some of these productions are revealing: **Shuffle Along, Hot Chocolates, Blackbirds, Brown Buddies.** Giving the torrid night club treatment to the costumes, choreography and music helped spread a new concept of a sizzling, exotic, sexy people. Now all Negroes were actually or potentially hot dancers.

And while the country was going jazz mad, the finest examples of the genuine article were still to be found in the Harlem music stores. The major record companies listed the songs of Bessie Smith and other artists, on separate announcements, as "Race Records."

DURING WORLD WAR II, in order to explain why we had to defeat a racist enemy abroad, clarity had to begin at home. We were compelled to ask ourselves questions about our own attitudes on discrimination. Though most of them are still unanswered, jimcrow has been whacked on both sides of the footlights. Actors Equity, the union of stage performers, instituted a boycott of the National Theatre in Washington, D. C., because of segregated seating. The Dramatists' Guild, in a statement written by Moss Hart, Langston Hughes and Sidney Kingsley, urged its members, when writing about Negroes, to write thoughtfully and truthfully. Some needed no prodding, some did; but it took the question out of the realm of make-believe or private conviction.

Last season's Broadway play **Take a Giant Step**, by Louis Peterson, a young-Negro playwright, showed simply and poignantly an aspect of middle-class Negro life. This, too, was a giant step from well-intentioned dramas about "miscegenation" like **All God's Chillun Got Wings**, folksy fables like **The Green Pastures** and the primitivism of **Emperor Jones.**

Recently the agitation was felt in Gov. Byrnes' South Carolina when a cast of **Porgy** cancelled a heralded engagement in Charleston, the city which inspired the play, rather than appear before a segregated audience.

Opportunities for Negroes in the theaters provide opportunities for audiences to throw off stereotyped attitudes. This, in turn, makes for more Negroes in the theater. Prejudice impoverishes our national culture. When it is compounded with persecution and we are denied the privilege of seeing and hearing Paul Robeson without restrictions, then it is a sign of cultural depression. Of course Paul Robeson should be free to travel abroad as citizen and artist; but this Freedom Road should run through America too.

George Marion in the Midwest

GUARDIAN ANGELS in Cleveland got busy and George Marion's stopover in that city was all booked up. He'll be in Detroit May 23 to 31; St. Louis June 4 to 6; then Chicago for the balance of June. In July, he'll go from Minnesota to Montana and by August he should be in the State of Washington.

Open dates are still available. Plan something big (a public meeting) or little (a house party)—George Marion will give you an enjoyable, informative evening. You can buy some of George Marion's books; get new subs and pledges for the GUARDIAN; and bring people together to hear a fine speaker. Write to Leona Saron at the GUARDIAN, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y., for your date.